

361 When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wooden bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

868 Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and principal
411 toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cross section (pl. 24, a). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of palm leaflets (pl. 24, b). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approach the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and pointed.

524 Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means of an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, g). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, they share the name of firearms, *katökre* (*tök*, the report of a gun). Further, the boys have buzzers (pl. 24, n), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole in a little board (pl. 24, i), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance masks, animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, a-f), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé.²

Trick carvings (pl. 24, o), games of patience (pl. 24, m), and cat's cradle serve for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

561 At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity, a
867 fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them to
857 form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlier, by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged with a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four official age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial this has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second *ketúaye* of the subsequent *pōhĩtkama* class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eight years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appointed an instructor, *mekapónkate*, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing and dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and comradely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—in short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. The elders even gave them a class name—*Pądntqtkfkama* (*pądntqkti*, black arara). Three years later the *pōhĩtkama* completed their cycle of initiation and precipitated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as the junior eastern class, *mepantúa*, to the northeast station there, acquiring the name *Kra'tākama*. As already stated, they began racing against the western *mepantúa*, a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected to their first *ketúaye*, they had their organization completed.

561 On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1936
861 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a *hadre* mast at the opening of
536 the *vq'te'* period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class moieties
527 had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage round it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead of them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the plaza he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directions. The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let it drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women run thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-mell while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was this

² Nimundaaju, *The Apinayé*, 108 f.

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scene over before several other Clowns came running with a small, gnarled tree from which intestines, pieces of wood, but also some slices of good meat were suspended, of which the women likewise took possession.

On the following day the boys went hunting and killed a number of small birds and steppe rats. They tied their spoils to a tree, dragged it to the plaza, and set it upright, while the little girls came running from all sides to pillage it. Other boys had tied their game to the tip of their long tuft of hair and ran across the plaza, chased by the girls, who finally despoiled them of the booty.

GROWING GIRLS

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At the age of boys beginning to organize, the girls already assist their mothers at home and in the plantations and mostly excel them as dancers and singers in the plaza. Public opinion exacts competence in both spheres. A girl unfit for domestic and farming labor will not readily find a husband; but the collaboration of girls in the chanting and dancing that is indispensable for every festival and ceremonial is considered equally important. No Timbira mother would restrain her daughter from attending a dance on the ground of work to be done at home or in the plots. If there are too few girls in the plaza for a dance, the truants are publicly reprovved by the elders, who may send specially delegated men to fetch them out of their maternal homes. One of these messengers advances the tip of his sword-club toward the girl, who is obliged to clasp it, and he then leads her by the club to the plaza. Such treatment may be accorded to girls no older than ten, and at about twelve both sexes are in the thick of the manifold socioceremonial life of age classes, festive societies, and other units.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

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Before discussing the relations of the sexes during and prior to wedlock, I wish to state explicitly what is sufficiently apparent from the description of social structure: Neither sex considers the other inferior; the sexes have distinct functions, not higher and lower ones. Of course there are no feminine chiefs or councilors, and the religious ceremonies on behalf of the commonweal are always performed by men. Further, there is no preponderantly feminine organization. On the other hand, women not only own dwellings and plantations, but also have a claim on the children, and except in warfare nothing is undertaken without feminine participation, whence the *vũ'te'* institution (p. 92), the girl associates in the festive societies and the boys' initiation (p. 95 f.), and the resulting membership of women in the *hamrén* (p. 97 f.). There is but a single wholly masculine organization, that of the King Vultures; and this is due to their comprising all the honorary chiefs, which automatically excludes women since female chiefs are unknown. The two types of formalized friendship likewise embrace both sexes, even though the circumstances in which the *kwũ'nô* bond is established restrict the number of females capable of entering it (p. 104).

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In contrast to tribes with masculine societies for terrorizing women or with other methods of frightening them,¹⁰⁰ the *Ramkô'* *kamekra* seem to be above all interested in a merry comradeship of the two sexes. This attitude rests on the manifest appreciation of feminine personality. If a girl or woman differs in opinion from a man and agreement is hopeless, the matter is allowed to rest; it would be regarded as mean and ridiculous for a man to get angry, let alone try coercion. All relations rest on free consent within the tribal code. Accordingly rape was unknown, the

¹⁰⁰ Nimuendajá and Lowie, *The Associations of the Serénats*, 415.

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 Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apa'nyeksa seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

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 At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

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 Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

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 Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkó" cry, "hō! hō-ō!" At the last "ō!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

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 Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, b), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

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 Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4-6 cm. wide and 60-112 cm. long, with the